Students Prefer Jail-Ins to Bail-Outs

JAIL WAS CHOSEN by these students in Lynchburg, Va., after they were sentenced to 30 days for sitting at lunch counter. From left are Kenneth Greene, Terrell Brumback, James E. Hunter, Rebecca M. Owen, Mary Elizabeth Bentley and Barbara A. Thomas. See article at right.

(From Patriot Correspondents)

More than 100 students chose jail rather than bail last month to mark the start of the second year of non-violent resistance to segregation in the South.

The effect was immediate in the areas where the students were jailed. Ripples from their action are spreading over the South, but this may be a slow process.

The mass news media now consider student demonstrations as routine, no matter what the basic significance. This hampers efforts to widen the struggle.

Another factor in slowing the movement is disapproval by parents and many college officials. This is particularly true in areas where there have been some successful sit-ins.

A new thrust began Feb. 1, anniversary of the start of the sit-ins at Greensboro, N. C., when students all over the South took part in stand-ins at theaters. (See background article on Page 3.)

The ice was further broken when six students in Lynchburg, Va., and nine in Rock Hill, S. C., went to jail on the same day. They refused to appeal 30-day sentences for sitting at lunch counters.

The Lynchburg group included two white students from Lynchburg College and two from Randolph-Macon Women's College, fashionable girls' school. A white minister was thrown out of the courtroom in Lynchburg for refusing to be seated in a segregated section.

A white youth was arrested in Rock Hill after he was attacked by hoodlums while picketing in behalf of the students jailed there.

The Virginia and North Carolina demonstrators were soon followed to jail by 80 students in Atlanta who attempted to obtain service at lunch counters and restaurants.

This inspired seven Negro ministers and the Rev. Ross Anderson to ask service at an Atlanta restaurant in support of the students. They were jailed. Mr. Anderson refused to tell police whether he was white or Negro, simply stating that he was a member of the human race.

As a result, he was placed by himself in a separate part of the jail.

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The Southern PATRIOT

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Florida Hearing

Witch Hunt Sags

(By Staff Correspondent)

TALLAHASSEE, Fla. — Members of the State Legislature are showing signs of weakening in their efforts to block racial integration.

There is growing distaste for the witch hunt conducted by the Legislative Investigation Committee for the purpose of discrediting workers for civil rights. Even the newspaper reporters are getting bored with it.

The committee has been hampered for years by resistance from NAACP leaders. Recently it was further stymied by refusal of an SCEF official to testify before it.

It is even reported that the Rev. A. Leon Lowry of Tampa, state NAACP president, will be let off with a reprimand for his defiance of the committee. There had been talk of keeping him in jail for the duration of the session of the Legislature opening April 4.

The committee suffered a severe blow when the Florida Supreme Court threw out the six-month sentence given the Rev. Edward T. Graham for his refusal to cooperate with the inquisition.

The Rev. A. Leon Lowry
He Showed The Way

The committee is also worried by the appeal of the Rev. Theodore R. Gibson to the U.S. Supreme Court. Father Gibson was given a six-month sentence for refusing to surrender NAACP membership lists to the committee. He is president of the Miami branch. The Florida Supreme Court upheld his conviction.

On January 25, the committee summoned Carl Braden to appear for questioning on Feb. 9. Braden, a field secretary and editor for SCEF, was speaking at a

(Continued on Page 4)

Braden Loses By 5-4 Vote

The U.S. Supreme Court voted 5 to 4 to uphold the one-year prison terms given Carl Braden and Frank Wilkinson for contempt of the Un-American Committee.

Justice Hugo Black wrote a dissent saying the majority opinion is "a decision which may well strip the Negro of the aid of many of the white people who have been willing to speak up in his behalf."

Full details will be in the April Patriot. Meantime, write President Kennedy and urge pardons for Braden and Wilkinson.

Student Profile

Texas Girl Typical

(By Staff Correspondent)

AUSTIN, Tex. — Sandra Cason, 23, is one of that significant and growing minority—the white Southern students who are joining Negro students in action for integration.

As a graduate student and holder of a teaching assistantship at the University of Texas, she was one of the first white students to take part in the sit-in movement. Along with a few other pioneers, she laid the groundwork for the rapidly expanding movement on this campus. (See article on Page 3.)

Tall, blonde, pretty, and serious-minded, Sandra looks like the typical campus leader — which she was long before she joined the student protest movement. But it was in the sit-ins that she found herself and an identification with a "wider community." Today she says:

"I wouldn't have chosen to be a student at any other time in American history."

Miss Sandra Cason

Sandra is a Texan, born and reared in Victoria in the south central part of the state. Her family was conservative except

(Continued on Page 3)

Review of The Month

President Kennedy ordered tighter enforcement of bans on racial discrimination in Government employment and on Government contracts. He acted as the growing recession worsened the plight of Negro workers; their jobless rate was 14% against 7% for whites.

Negroes and white liberals stepped up drives to obtain more jobs for Negroes through picketing and withholding of buying. Southeastern NAACP leaders approved a buying-withdrawal campaign in a conference at Greenville, S. C.

The U.S. Senate approved appointment of Dr. Robert C. Weaver as federal housing administrator despite charges of subversion inspired by the White Citizens Councils of America.

New Orleans school employees got $2,000,000 in back pay as a result of action by the State Legislature which was interpreted as a major retreat by that body.

A U.S. District Court held unconstitutional the law which gerrymandered Negro voters out of Tuskegee, Ala. However, members of the State Legislature laid plans to abolish the city altogether to evade the ruling.

President Kennedy and other federal officials were sued in an effort to stop payment of U.S. funds to segregated colleges and other institutions.

'It Was All In Their Minds'

(By Staff Correspondent)

JACKSONVILLE, Fla. — Hogan's Creek cuts cat-a-corner across Springfield Playground in the heart of Jacksonville.

That part of the playground which lies east of the creek is equipped with basketball courts, swings, tennis courts — all the most modern apparatus. This part used to be reserved for whites.

The west side of the playground has no equipment of any kind; just grass. This was formerly set aside for Negroes, when police would allow them to play there.

This condition had prevailed as long as the oldest resident of Jacksonville could remember. But it all changed on January 9 when the U.S. District Court integrated all city-owned recreational facilities here.

On that day the Negro boys from the west side of the playground leaped across Hogan's Creek and began playing on the other side. They and some white boys soon organized a football game, shown in photo above.

—Florida Star and News Photo

INTEGRATED FOOTBALL GAME IN JACKSONVILLE

A reporter for *The Florida Star and News* said the boys "really played a rough game. If there had been any underlying tension or animosity, it would surely have come out in that

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The Southern Patriot

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VOL. 19, No. 3 — March 1961

News In Brief

James Farmer, pioneer in the non-violent struggle against racial discrimination, became national director of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE). In 1942 in Chicago, Farmer took part in the first sit-in at a restaurant in this country.

* * *

The National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice, formed last year in St. Louis, will hold its 1961 meeting from August 24 to 27 at the University of Detroit. Information about program and sponsors can be obtained from the conference office, 21 W. Superior, Chicago 10, Ill.

* * *

In Monteagle, Tenn., the Southern Christian Leadership Conference began a leadership training program at Highlander Folk School. SCLC, which has its headquarters in Atlanta, said that many of the courses will also be available through a correspondence institute it is planning.

* * *

In Atlanta, Ga., the Southern Regional Council listed about 200 formerly all-white colleges and universities in the South which have desegregated since 1935. That was the year in which the University of Maryland admitted a Negro to its Law School.

* * *

In Houston, Texas, a survey showed that 12 Negro children who were the first to enter integrated classes have kept pace with their white schoolmates. (See November *Patriot* for background.)

* * *

In Panama City, Fla., the annual council of the Episcopal Diocese of Florida approved without discussion a report pledging that there "shall be no color bar at our altars—we must question such barriers elsewhere."

* * *

In Shreveport, La., the Ku Klux Klan boasted that it was recruiting at a rapid rate. It burned a cross on the lawn of Rep. Overton Brooks because he voted to enlarge the Rules Committee of the U. S. House. Brooks termed this action "foolish" and "un-American."

Book Notes

Excellent Depth Study of Sit-Ins

UNFINISHED REVOLUTION, by TOM KAHN, with forewords by NORMAN THOMAS and JAMES LAWSON, 64 pages; available from Igal Roodenko, Printer, 36 E. Tenth St., New York 3, N.Y. 50c (reduced prices for quantity orders).

This is the best depth study that has yet been done on the sit-in movement and its far-reaching implications. The author, a young man who has himself been active in civil-rights efforts, takes a hard look at the forces which produced the current upsurge in the South and provides a keen analysis.

It is Kahn's thesis that if the Negro is to carry the non-violent revolution to completion and win real freedom, he can't do it alone. He must forge an alliance with the labor movement and he must bring about a political realignment in the U.S.A.—not a "third party" or a splinter party but a "real second party."

To those who feel that an alliance between the Negro and organized labor is impossible because of the labor movement's current default on civil rights, Kahn points out the identity of interest of the two movements. He believes this will ultimately bring them together. In fact, he says, "just as formerly labor paved the way for a big advance for the Negro, today it is the Negro who paves the way for labor".

COVER OF BOOKLET

In the process of uniting with the labor movement and precipitating a political alignment, he believes, the Negro-rights movement will be fulfilling a historic responsibility. It will not only be making a "frontal attack on the social institutions on which race hatred feeds"; it will also make a "contribution to American society as a whole"—reinvigorating American life with "elan and vision" and creating a new moral, political, economic, and social atmosphere in the country.

Kahn sees the essential ingredients for these developments as the use of non-violent techniques and mass action on the part of Negroes.

Not everyone will agree with all of Kahn's conclusions, but no one can fail to be stimulated into deeper thought by his proposals. The booklet includes an excellent short summary of Negro history in an appendix.—A.B.

Union Men Also Jailed

(By Staff Correspondent)

HENDERSON, N. C. — The same spirit and principles that mark the sit-in movement were shown recently by eight union men who went to prison as a result of a cotton-mill strike here.

They were sentenced on the same old conspiracy charges that have put many labor leaders in jail in this country. Boyd Payton, leader of the group, said as he left for prison:

"None of us have any desire to be martyrs or heroes. We'd much rather go home to our families. But the struggle to build the labor movement is just as worthwhile as the sacrifices for Christianity. Let's hold our heads high and face this test with courage."

Former Gov. Luther Hodges, now President Kennedy's Secretary of Commerce, refused to grant the men clemency. *The Raleigh News and Observer* said:

". . . a feeling of uneasiness about the justice of North Carolina attends this case. These men, not one of whom had a mark against his record before the strike began, are in prison for a 'dynamiting' that never occurred".

Moral Question Ultimate

THE CASE FOR THE SOUTH, by WILLIAM D. WORKMAN, JR., Devin-Adair Co., 23 E. 26th St., New York 10, $5.

Last summer the son of a professor at Tuskegee Institute mentioned that he would like to discuss views on racial separation "with an intelligent segregationist." Perhaps this reviewer can recommend to him with some qualifications *The Case for The South*. It purports to explain in part "why we Southerners think, act, and react as we do." The book jacket and the contents reveal differing viewpoints. One says it "will not be welcomed by extremists on either side," and the other reveals entrenched conservatism.

The author's declarations of fact and premises and his view of reality are preponderantly the old cliches with little new thought to encourage the reader to keep reading. Mr. Workman tends toward vagueness and inexcusably slanted reporting.

One of his conclusions is, "In devising any approach for the reduction or elimination of discrimination and in judging the likeklihood of its success, we must ask the practical question, 'Will it work?' rather than the ethical questions, 'Is it right?' or 'Is it proper?' If the attack on prejudice is hinged on moral considerations, it is foredoomed to failure."

Mr. Workman here gives himself away. His argument throughout the book is never concerned with issues of right, wrong, or social justice. The "Will It Work?" approach is excellent for polemic negative criticism and prophecy after the fact, but experience seems to show that for those who act and present positive attitudes the moral question is always ultimate.—E.M.W.

George Edwards: Pioneer

(By Special Correspondent)

DALLAS, Texas—George Clifton Edwards, 83, former Dallas attorney and pioneer worker for civil rights, died recently. Two of the eight pallbearers at his funeral here were Negroes.

Edwards was an outspoken critic of all injustice, but he is perhaps best remembered for his aid to a Negro who killed a white man during a scuffle over boarding a streetcar.

The Negro was given the death penalty. Edwards declared at a meeting of Dallas lawyers that if a white man had done the killing he would have been charged with manslaughter and given a light sentence. He joined other citizens in protesting to the Governor and the sentence was commuted.

Carl Brannin, liberal leader here and a longtime friend of Edwards, said of him: "In his hatred of sham and pretense and in his independence of thought and action, he typified the best of our Texas pioneers. Now as never before, we need citizens with the courage and independence he had.

"It is noteworthy that one of his grandsons, George Edwards, Jr., is among students picketing against segregation here. Young Edwards is a sophomore at Southern Methodist University, where some students have been very active in the struggle for equal rights."

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Bullets Don't Stop Jones

The Rev. Ashton Jones is a hard man to keep down.

For many years he has been traveling over the South in a large white house-on-wheels painted with symbols of brotherhood. He preached simple brotherhood and lived it.

His home-on-wheels was destroyed beyond repair while Ashton spent two months in jail in Shreveport, La., last summer. He had been arrested on charges of disturbing the peace and vagrancy because he was eating in a cafe catering to Negroes. (See October *Patriot*.)

Undefeated, Ashton got another car—a small one this time—painted it the same way, and continued his travels. He and the car were photographed in Louisville, Ky., with Joe Glynn, who recently made a cross-country trip with him.

The small car arouses as much ire among the segregationists as the big one did. Driving into Shreveport in January to confer with Attorney Jesse Stone, he was arrested again — charged with disturbing the peace. Again he was beaten and abused while in police custody. The American Civil Liberties Union asked the U. S. Department of Justice to investigate.

—Patriot Photo by Jimmy Braden

THE NEW BROTHERHOOD CAR

The new charges, as well as the old ones, have now been dropped as a result of nationwide protests. Meantime, as Ashton and Joe drove through Jackson, Miss., and stopped at a service station, bullets were fired into the Brotherhood Car.

Characteristically, Ashton simply painted rings around the bullet holes, added a note saying "Bullet Holes from Jackson, Mississippi" and continued his journeys.

★ Texas Girl Is Typical

(Continued from Page 1)

for her mother, who encouraged Sandra to think for herself. But from her grandparents and others she heard as a child all the racial cliches; one that sticks in her mind especially was the admonition that Negroes of the female sex should be referred to as Negro "women" rather than Negro "ladies."

With Sandra, however, as with large segment of her generation, the old cliches never really made much impression. She can't remember any point in her life when there was a great revolution in her thinking.

"I never really knew any Negroes as a child," she says, "and I don't think I really knew what was going on until I was a junior or senior in high school. Then about that time, the 1954 Supreme Court decision against school segregation came."

Her only reaction to the decision was: "Why hasn't this taken place before?" There was never any question in her mind but what it was right.

After the decision, of course, she heard much discussion supporting segregation.

"All I could think was, 'This is just stupid,'" she recalls.

And Sandra, like most alert young people, detests stupidity.

Her attitudes are typical of much of the current student generation. Many of her fellow Texas students consider segregation morally and intellectually wrong and integration right.

And yet there is a sharp dividing line between this attitude and action. Many have the attitude; few take action. When Sandra began to participate in the sit-in movement, many of her liberal friends from whom she expected support disagreed with her.

"They said it was unwise, that it would cause violence," she says. "They thought it was a good thing that the Negroes were doing — and yet they wanted nothing to do with it. They seemed to think of it as the Negro's problem."

She doesn't know what it is that makes some people step over the line into action, while others hold back. With her, it came somewhat in degrees.

After two years in a junior college, she came to the University of Texas for her junior and senior years. Her chief stimulus to interracial activity came from the student Y.W.C.A. She assumed leadership in the Y and headed regional and national conferences. In all these activities she came to know Negro students well.

The real step was from this type of activity to the sit-in and the picketline.

"This involves a completely different kind of decision," she explains. "On a campus, Y work is the thing to do; concern is the thing to have. There is prestige in being chairman of a Y committee and sitting and talking about problems."

But the sit-in movement is something else again.

"In this movement, the whites are no longer in leadership," she notes. "It is not the 'prestige' thing to do. It is entirely different from taking part in 'good' activities to become known on the campus. It requires a commitment and a devotion to an ideal."

Fossibly it was the confrontation of an ideal and a chance of incorporating the ideal into action, but whatever it was that made it possible for Sandra to step over the line into action, she is glad she did.

"I have come to realize what a student community can mean," she says, "and what world community can mean. Students in this country, some of them, are beginning to realize they are part of a world student community.

"American students are beginning to do what students in other lands have done since the Middle Ages — trying to bring the influence of enlightened and unafraid people into the lifeblood of a nation.

"Students because they have not yet put down roots can be unafraid. They can build something new. It has happened all over the world in the past year; others may not realize it, but the students in the sit-in movement do."

Sandra's own student days are almost over and then she will teach or work in human relations in the South. She has decided to spend a brief period in the North to broaden her perspective, and then she will come back South.

"What the South really needs more than anything else is exposure to ideas," she says. "I wasn't exposed to a full-fledged idea until I was 20. No wonder no more white students are involved in this movement."

But she thinks the sit-in movement may be changing that some.

"It's something the students have to think about because it's all around them," she says. "Even where they aren't acting yet, students are beginning to think."

How The Stand-Ins Got Started In Austin

BY GLEN CASTLEBURY
(Special Correspondent)

AUSTIN, Texas — A bomb, cold weather, intimidation, and criticism have failed to stop concerted protest movements at the University of Texas.

The movements began as individual protests at segregated eating places, but soon involved action at a movie house adjoining the campus.

The theater became the target of revolving stand-ins, which have now spread over the South and into some cities in the North.

White and Negro students keep the line at the box office revolving by going to the end of the line each time they are refused a ticket. White students are refused tickets when they tell the seller that they want them only if the theater admits everybody.

The Texas stand-ins first gained wide notice when 200 students staged one lasting for three hours. During December the demonstrators appeared at the movie house and another nearby theater four times a week.

During January's final exams and mid-term holiday, pickets were put in front of the theaters every night and a mass stand-in was staged each Saturday night. The stand-ins are continuing; the best one was on Lincoln's Birthday.

The movement started in late November when University Religious Council members distributed cards outside campus-area restaurants. The cards, saying "I will continue to patronize this establishment if it is integrated," were handed to the managers as the patron paid his or her bill.

Negotiations with the managers brought about a meeting of the restaurant owners and U.R.C. members. This soon resulted in the integration of at least four establishments and the admission of Negro *students* to two others restaurants.

The theater stand-ins began as an independent movement with support of the Religious Council. When the 200 or more demonstrators were faced with legal and organizational problems, they elected a 25-member executive committee and decided to call the group Students for Direct Action.

Besides University students, the group has received help of faculty members, Houston-Tillotson College students, Austin high-schoolers, and townspeople. It was estimated that over 500 people took part in the demonstrations in December alone.

Theater personnel at the first movie house, the Texas Theater, a member of the locally owned Trans-Texas chain, have not only been friendly but also cooperative and sympathetic. The other movie, Varsity of the Interstate ABC-Paramount chain, has been at best belligerent.

Both theaters placed ropes across the sidewalks to channel demonstrators away from the box offices. The management of the Varsity tried asking each demonstrator for his name and address, as well as employing a local news photographer to take each individual's picture. This failed to scare the demonstrators, as the students surged forward proudly to be first on the list.

The University paper, *The Daily Texan*, has given the demonstrations wide coverage and editorial support. The names of over 200 University faculty members have appeared with unequivocal letters of support in *The Texan*. Faculty members often attend both the demonstrations and the executive-commitee meetings.

A bomb exploded outside the S.D.A. meeting place, the University Y.M.C.A., during a planning meeting. The explosion did little damage and, in the opinion of several committee members, gained some sympathy for the movement.

The bombers were arrested the next day—they were University students, one from Dallas and one from McKinney in East Texas. They were fined $200 and sentenced to 30 days in jail. A University official said the boys would be readmitted to school for the spring semester if they sought re-entry.

Chandler Davidson, senior philosophy major and chairman of S.D.A., points out the postive approach of the stand-ins. The demonstrators, he emphasizes, are not protesters as much as they are prospective ticket buyers.

"We are not running a boycott," he declared. "In each stand-in there are 200 students who want to attend the movie, but we can't—either because we are black or because our conscience won't let us spend 80c that would support segregation."

Basically, the group is united to defeat a common enemy — which has best been summed up by Dr. Blake Smith, pastor of University Baptist Church:

"Racial segregation is an affront to human dignity, a betrayal to democracy, and an insult to God."

—Dallas Express Photo

RECENT STAND-IN at Dallas theater was inspired by similar action at Austin. Older persons, members of the Dallas Community Council, joined white and Negro students in protest.

Students Prefer Jail-Ins

(Continued from Page 1)

He said he agreed to be bailed out when the other ministers decided that was the course they wished to follow. The students were also bailed out after two weeks, upon the promise of community leaders that something would be done to meet their demands.

Twenty-eight students, one of them white, spent the night in jail at Nashville after they were arrested during a theater stand-in. The charge was blocking a fire exit, which was dismissed the next day. Authorities were apparently aware that the group planned a jail-in if they were fined or given a sentence.

Seventy-seven Negro and white students and adults were arrested in Louisville during demonstrations by CORE and the NAACP Youth Council. Community leaders immediately began talks aimed at integrating more than 100 restaurants, half a dozen theaters, and several eating places in department stores. Negroes and liberal whites also refused to buy in the downtown area.

Soon after the Lynchburg students were jailed, the parents of one of them employed an attorney to try to induce them to accept bail or probation. They had been represented in court by Len Holt, noted civil rights attorney from Norfolk, who went along with their plan for jail instead of bail.

The spirit of the demonstrators is reflected in a letter from Miss Barbara A. Thomas, written after she and the others were called into conference by the other attorney. She said:

"He (the attorney) wants to make an appeal to Judge Martin for our release. I most vehemently objected and the others followed suit. Do you think I was wrong?

"I feel that making an appeal to Judge Martin as 'ideal youngsters' (the attorney's words), promising good behavior if released, is most unbecoming to the cause and an admission that what we are doing is wrong."

A similar attitude was shown by students from Friendship College who went to jail in Rock Hill. The student CORE leader, Robert McCullough, 18, wrote from prison:

" . . . the thoughts and determination of this group is based on the saying of Patrick Henry 'give me liberty or give me death.' I am hoping that people everywhere will hear about this and pray for us that all this will be over one day."

Thomas Gaither, a CORE field secretary who was jailed with the students, said: "Don't ask us to get out—we're fighting for freedom on the road gang."

The Rock Hill nine had been in jail only a short time when they were joined there by four leaders of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee who had just come from an SNCC meeting in Atlanta. SNCC is a Southwide student group coordinating the resistance movement.

The four leaders went to Rock Hill and were arrested to show their solidarity with the jailed students. They called for others throughout the South to join in a concerted effort at Rock Hill, the first attempt at such a concentration.

It was during a demonstration in support of the 13 in jail that Paul Dietrich of Washington, D.C., was beaten by a hoodlum and then arrested. He was later released.

SNCC leaders who were jailed are Joseph Charles Jones, Johnson C. Smith College, Charlotte, N.C.; Charles Melvin Sherrod, Virginia Union University, Richmond, Va.; Miss Diane Judith Nash, Fisk University, Nashville, and Miss Ruby Doris Smith, Spelman College, Atlanta.

Protests about jailing of the students were sent to President Kennedy and the governors of Virginia, South Carolina, and Georgia by CORE, the Southern Conference Educational Fund, and other groups. Telegrams also went to mayors of the cities involved.

It was suggested that sympathizers can help the sit-in and jail-in movement by writing to President Kennedy and to governors and mayors when integrationists are jailed or assaulted in the South.

In Oklahoma City, eight NAACP members were fined for demonstrations against Jim Crow eating facilities. Included was Mrs. Clara Luper, who has given leadership to the sit-in movement since it started in Oklahoma City in 1958. Four of the demonstrators were white.